deeds; that was always scandalous since genocidal crimes cannot be expiated by growing private investments. Moreover, in this case, economic successes are so far either exaggerated or non-existent. The Indonesian government does not and probably cannot publish economic data and the new reports published are far from exhilarating. Exports are less than they were under Sukarno, with the exception of oil. Our information of the successes of the Suharto regime is still limited to new massacres, judicial murders, deportations, and the persecution of the Chinese and the New Guineans, mass arrests and, at times, the revenge of the persecuted.

It is no surprise to read such reports in the Hearst press—but in *War/Peace Report!*

ROBERT MAJOR
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Stannard Replies:

Dear Mr. Major sees in the article the reversed reflection of his own political or emotional convictions. Neither an anti-Communist polemic nor a paean to the "New Order" was intended. It was an attempt to say simply what happened in Indonesia and where it stands today.

Certainly the term "terror" fits the massacres, as it did in the Indo-Pakistan partition holocaust two decades ago and the more recent slaughters in Nigeria. The thoughtful outside observer finds something especially chilling in the apparent equanimity with which the rest of the Indonesian public accepted the mass killings.

Personal experience in Indonesia taught me caution with figures. But whether tens or hundreds of thousands died, surely the facts are horrifying enough to speak for themselves without embellishment from me or Mr. Major.

Eventually Suharto will have to be judged by the same standard Sukarno was: whether his rule succeeds or fails to better the lot of the Indonesian people. As with his predecessor, the answer will probably be success in some things, failure in others. I believe it is too early to weigh the new regime's performance definitively, but I tried to point out some of the factors that can tip the balance.

R. E. STANNARD JR.
New York, N.Y.

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APRIL—Indonesia: Frustrated Giant, by R. E. Stannard Jr.; For an All-Volunteer Military, by Rep. George E. Brown, Jr.; After Vietnam—Sweden Makes Plans, by Richard Dudman; What is *Peace*? How Do We Get It? and As the U.N. Nears 25, editorials; Putting China Into Perspective, review essay by O. Edmund Clubb; Unraveling the Cuban Missile Crisis, review essay by Richard Hudson; Why No Underground Test Ban?, by Leonard Rodberg.

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NO BOUNDARIES AT ALL?

To the Editor:

Thank you for the discussion of boundaries of the seabed by three experts in your October issue. The discussion as well as the map showing a hypothetical division of the seabed on the basis of equidistance from land frontiers reveal clearly the arbitrariness of any such divisions. Dr. Hedberg made a scholarly argument for using geometric features such as the base of the continental slope to define a zone within which more precise geodetic coordinates could then be designed as boundaries. I would like to make two observations on this argument: 1) the natural geomorphic boundaries are gradational—useful ideas to help man understand nature but not hard and fast divisions put there by "nature," and 2) the geodetic coordinates are imaginary lines. I remember the surprised remark of my son some years ago when we were in the International Peace Gardens that overlap the U.S.-Canadian boundary: "Why Daddy, there isn't any boundary here at all."

Maybe we should consider the possibility that wars are caused by making boundaries, not by how or where they are made (insofar as boundaries are contributing causes of war). Maybe our efforts should be directed to the preservation of a hydrosphere and atmosphere without boundaries, and ultimately to the creation of a lithosphere without boundaries. Maybe we need to re-examine our idea that the food and mineral wealth of the ocean can be utilized to man's benefit only if the activity will yield an economic profit. Maybe mankind is one. Maybe men can work cooperatively under a world order for the benefit of all.

To those who will dismiss this idea as "idealistic" and "utopian," let me reply that "the only unchangeable thing in the universe is change." The environment of man has been drastically changed by man and it may be that these changes have made what was idealistic and utopian yesterday the only practical means of survival today. The story of the rocks—I am sure Dr. Hedberg would agree—tells us that those organisms that changed to meet changing environments are the ones that survived to play a direct role in the evolution of life on the planet. Perhaps this rule of survival applies also to a changed environment brought about by man.

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WPR Index: August/September-December, 1969

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